the curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognized. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 449
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 798
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 65
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re-
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the [764]
evil eye"), and Shukir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep steps
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most households have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt to the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[49]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[50].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the in- adoption of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seem to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as not to embody the child. At the various ages the child entered to definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social intercourse prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the home. All communication took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Gunnar has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[51]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many. Success life in the home and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. accomplished with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misery. I discovered that one boy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the fore equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more pleasant than one's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the fear of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently uncertain with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not exposed to aggression with subsequent punishment and the

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DEATH

Hospitals, ambulances, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the main ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[17]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cart to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Tuganova with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous swathed by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[18], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenza epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[19]. Broken arms and legs were ill-tended, grew together badly, resulting in ski-shaped limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Sirkan. There was no snake venom in the villages. A harvester in Tuganova and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by lorry or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. There letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[20].

Neither the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sick-room in the house.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirza Rostam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was kept out for three days in the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this laying-out table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On into the body, clad in an unworn costume and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[21]. The same type is found in Arabia[22] and Egypt[23].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth.

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil.

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred.

The independent judiciary functions through the court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Nahia [sub-district magistrate] and then before the Qa'im Maqam [district magistrate] before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil.

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Sunnis and Turks and in time by general inclination Sunni-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Shaqi-kurds whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Sunni" can be taken for granted.

The Liwa is divided into several districts (Qazas) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area 4, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Qaza of Rowanduz. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for the district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for the Liwa.

The Qazas in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Erbil table all results within the nahiya Erbil - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Inregale on the other hand is administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the personality of these junior officials which is the most feature of the system, and which is the real source of